

OLD AND "NEW" CONCEPTIONS

Commoners Literature on Economic history of fascism in Germany

Arthur Schweitzer, *Blg Business in the Third Rich*

Indiana Unverslty **Press**, Bloomlinton 1964 (2. ed. 1965;
at the same time: London 1964), 739 Rarely, **Price:** 7.50 **S**

Wolfgang Birkenfeld, *The synthetic fuel 1933 - 1945. A contribution to the **national** socialist Economic - and armaments policy = studies and documents on the history of second world war, Vol. 8th*

Mu.sterschmidt publishing house, Göttingen 1964, 279 Pages, Price: 36.- DM

Dieter Petzina, *Self-sufficiency policy In the third Rich. The National Socialist Four year plan= Series of publications the quarterly magazines for contemporary history, No. 16*

German Publishing company. Stuttgart 1968, 204 Rare, Price: 9,80 DM

from Lockpick Eichholtz

The offering has been growing for a number of years bourgeois historiography of literature about the economic and social history of fascist Germany. The existence this literature is a poltltkum, whose roots are wlr in particular ideological needs of the ruling Imperial history has to look for a class. The subject matter of the works leads one to expect in any case , da8 central problems of the Story of German imperialism and fascism - in whatever the cladding and design - to language come. Dull role the monopolies, the ratio of yours. power of the fascist regime, Preparation for war and war aims of German Imperialism, the state monopolistic organization his armaments and war economy, finally the character of Fascism and of second World War 1D:>at all: becomes complete *Apparently* no author has these problems with the given topic. We will use your treatment as a benchmark assessment of the examined Publications have to take. This is the more is offered, !lls the argument between bourgeois and D18.l'Xist historiography is extremely current politically, especially on these points.

The following will focus primarily on the scientific and political ones conceptions to be examined, the one to be reviewed Wel'.ken as well as others In the last few years he appeared to be based on works . We want to try that special role closer to characterize, the these publications in the ideological Conflict between us Play time. The ones for this one Literature report met Selection of the Publications have an exemplary character.

To the first civil Work about the Tent of the fascist dictatorship in Germany, which are considered to have an economic and historical character can attribute The law was prepared by representatives of large German companies Corporations.1 The official bourgeois historiography, which still completely held back, received from them basic instruction _ **darU!**, **he, how to deal** with the fascist past have to "deal with". **This** literature explained the monopolies as "aligned" victims of the Hitler rules . The **Authors** known openly, her main motif be the discharge from Big industry and high finance from the Accuse and allegations, the before everything in the in Nuremberg before US mill **törgerlichtshofen perceived** industrial processes **against** them were collected. The The highlight of this **massive apologetics** was a **book by an American**.²

Significantly, it was a whole series of former ones Nazi- and economic **officials leading** positions Im state monopoly mechanism armaments- and War economy before 1945, the the herewith given orientation in your Publications picked up. The economic historical one literature about the fascist Time remained **largely your domain** for the next few years . Among them were seven designated war criminals like Kehrl, Riecke, Schwerin von Krosigk and groom.3 Especially those Works in the anthology "Blank the second World War" were directly as Textbooks for the (later) NATO and emergency planning, in the event of a new war.

The here obvious, open apologetic and largely direct pro-fascist line followed exactly also the Authors of the around twenty "Studies" (dissertations) of "Institute for · Occupation issues" In Tllblängen. This obscure institution - dem hearing after now dissolved - was standing under the patronage from former Nazi diplomats and war criminals How Otto groom and Werner Best. It was valid as Unofficial descendant of Bonn Foreigners office. The studies of institute, long Years through the only contribution the West German historiography to Story the fascist occupation In Europe, pursued in the Robes international law-juridical science Apology unabashed the Purpose, the fascist occupation policy, particularly the economic "Reorganization Europe", to rebabUltleren, and should obviously the renewed, so in the NATO and EEC style operated "European" politics of West German imperialism shield.4

- 1 See. Wilmowsky, Tilo Fr. v., Why was Krupp convicted? Legend and miscarriage of justice, Stuttgart 1950; knee strap, August B.C., Nuremberg. Legal and human problems, Stuttgart 1953; Ter Sea, Fritz, The I G. Paint industry stock corporation. their creation, development and Meaning, Düsseldorf 1953; seven too the rectification books from Schacht, Hjalmar, Invoice with Hitler, Hamburg/Stuttgart 1948; the same, 76 years of my life, Bad Wörishofen 1953. - For this and in addition Below see the bibliographic notes in Eicholtz, Lockpick, History of the German war economy 1939 - 1945, Vol. 1: 1939 - 1941, Berlin 1969 (hereinafter: Krlgswtrtschaft), S. 379 ff.
- 2 Lochner, Louis P., The powerful and the Bully. The German industry from Hitler to Adenauer, Darmstadt 1955.
- 3 See. Kehrl, Hans, war economy and armaments industry, in: Balance sheet of second world war, Oldenburg/Hamburg 1953; Riecke, Hans Joachim, Food and agriculture in war, In: ibid; Schwerin v. Krosigk, Lutz Graf, How did he become? Second World War financed? In: ibid; Wagenführ, Rolf, The German industry in wars 1939 - 1945, 2. ed. Berlin 1963 (1. ed. without author name 1954); Welter, Experience, plan wrongly and rightly, Heidelberg 1954; Groom, Otto, overview about the occupied eastern territories during the second world war, Tübingen 1957 = studies of the institute for Crew question n. Tübingen, No. 3.
- 4 See. Herdeg, Walter, Basics of the German Crew management In the west- and northern european plush countries while of second World War, Tllbingen 1953 = Studies

The Contribution the professional bourgeois economic historian, through their "scientific" and political activity during fascist time predominantly The majority were heavily compromised, but remained there extremely poor. Published in several editions and editions since 1952, always still completely unchanged, a booklet marriage from Wilhelm Loyalty, the after all, deserves attention because of its large, **heavily** supported by the authorities Spread as Teaching material at schools and adult education centers. The contains writing in addition already the complete one Conception one dem "Totalitarianism" subjugated and by Hitler and the fascist party abused Economy, its real rulers quite in the dark remain. 5 weighty, Comprehensive economic-historical presentations were missing so far completely. In the numerous general historical The economic-historical topic was and is largely left out of survey works and actually embezzled.

Conceal and Deny was long the main method, the man applied, around beings and function of the German armament and war economy, especially their state monopoly character and the criminal role of the monopolies, to conceal. In the works, the appeared, called the German economy the fascist Time in as a rule "totalitarian Forced economy" under the dictates of Nazi party. The "totalitarianism" theory allowed the "command economy" (from Eucken to loyalty) of Fascism like that fascism at all without consideration on scientific cleanliness with socialism and the equate to a socialist planned economy; it seemed all the easier towards both the "free market economy", the "free basic order" and the "Community of "free world" to praise. This rape of truth and Science in turn became a pretext for the Attempt taken, the history of the German economy from 1933 until 1945 as Area of serious scientific investigation if possible to disavow.

Here is for a number of years Change occurred. 6 It is obvious the quantitative increase the economic history literature. It is at the same time Elne whole Number of new ones N/a-

of Institute for occupation issues, Tübingen, No. 1; Groom, Otto, a. a. O.; Strictly, Heinz v., Die agriculture in the General Government, Tübingen 1955 = Studies of the In institutes for occupation issues, Tübingen, No. 6; Ulshöfer, Otfried, advice on business ventures in the occupied north, west- and Southeast European countries during the second World War, especially the one Acquisition of investments, Tübingen 1958 = *ibid*, No. 15; tanner, Berthold, State economic control in the occupied t.eo and **annexed eastern territories** during the second world war special Consideration of fiduciary Administration from ventures and the Eastern society **accrue**, Tübingen 1959 = *ibid*, No. 17; Denzel, Rosemarle, Die Chemical industry of France under the German occupation in the second World War, Tübingen 1959 = **even** there, No. 18; Weinmann, Manfred, Agriculture in France during the Second World War under dem Influence the German Occupation force, Tübingen 1961 = **ibid**, no. 20; u. a.

- 5 Loyalty, Wilhelm, Business and politics 1933 - 1945, u. d. Employees v. Gunther Fred, **Hanover** 1952 (4. unchanged. ed. Stuttgart 1962).
- 6 Naßlich was allegedly involved in this West German historiography the work of **Bradler**, Karl Dietrich/Sauer, Wolfgang/Schulz, Gerhard, The National Socialist _Maciit capture. Studies to Establishment of the totalitarian system of rule in Germany in 1933/34, Cologne/Opladen 1960 (2nd edition) ed. 1962), mlt **its** extensive **business** history chapters. Forerunners and in particular Dimensions also models these md other West German Publications included works by US authors such as Ballgarten, George W. F., Hitler, Reichswehr and industry. On the history of the Years 1918 - 1933, Frankfurt (Main) 1955; Dallin, Alexander, German rule in Russia 1941 - 1945. A study on occupation policy, Düsseldorf 1958.

men or Researcher of the younger generation in the remarkable upsurge in the publishing industry on the significantly involved in the area discussed (Birkenfeld, Carroll, Hom ze; Janssen, Mason, Millward, Petzina). The Connection, the here undoubtedly insists is on none Fall of a superficial nature. Authorities civil Historians like Hillgruber and Jacobsen have been emphasizing for some time time expressly and repeatedly, that the economic and social history of the fascist Time closer researched become must.⁷

The causes for this change are diverse and complex. It lies in certain general political and ideological needs and interests the ruling in periallstlachen Class justified and came not last also under dem Pressure the Results and successes Marxlstischen historiography. The analysis of the to discuss the factories will provide more precise statements to this one Allow problem. Schweitzer, Birch field and Petzina deal entirely or primarily with the Pre-war period. Mark your work in Remarkable clarity of the most important conceptual variants in the bourgeois economic-historical Research on the Fascism and the like latest Tent at all.

birch field, a student of Wilhelm Treue and P E Schramm, represents dle "conservative" position, the traditional one line of West German or. (Prussian-)German imperialism musapology. His book is inspired from Loyalty, the always one more diligent Administrator the ideological interests of the German monopoly capital was and you especially in the fascist Tent supreme actively represented. It is for years cared for been by Carl Krauch, in the Hitler tent top representative of the IG Farben group and state general representative tiger for the chemical, particularly for the synthetic one Production, Mistake with the dictatorial ones Powers of attorney a chemistry minister. Birkenfeld thanks him first in the foreword "for his willingness to help, which he in the years of Preparatory work always showed again" (p. 9)8. Birkenfeld's consultants also included other former Nazi representatives in government and industry, How shaft, Kehrl, Helmuth Wohlthat and Gustav Brecht (p. 272). The Row, in the the publication appears, becomes from the working group flr Defense research published, the eng with dem West German Ministry of War connected is.

The Buph is "seriously" presented and brings many - different useful ones - Facts, figures and Documents. Worth noting are fifty pages statistics and Documents in the Attachment . The tenor of the book text Ist extremely "objective" and emphatically technical and "factual". This work only has a Mistake: The historical truth is completely destroyed. The basic concept tone of The book consists of a massive **apology** for war preparation and the war crimes of the German monopolies, primarily of IG-farben-Group.

If from synthetic fuel is mentioned, then must the role of IG Farben Group and the four-year plan, must Preparation for war is discussed. Who of hydrogenation plants speaks, the must the Feder-Bosch Agreement, the "plenipotentiary general for special issues of the chemical production", must go to Auschwitz name names. From all of that is in the beech also somewhere the speech - but How! Birch field knows dle End of file

7 Please refer Jacobsen, Hans Adolf. To conceive a history of Second World War 1939 - 1945, Frankfurt (Main) 1964, S. 14; Hillgruber, Andrew. Hitler's strategy. Politics and warfare 1940 - 1941, Frankfurt (Main) 1965, S. 73 Note 39, S. 87, 531; problems of second world war, ed. v. Andreas Hillgruber, Cologne/Berlin 1967, p.11; eve, leather, Theodore. Dependent on something accidentally preserved. The history and the social sciences, in: Frankfurter General Newspaper, No. 271, 11/21 1967, P. 14 {Opening lecture on the West German Historian Congress in Freiburg, October 1967),

8 All not closer designated Rare numbers in the ongoing Refer to text to the book discussed in each case.

Nuremberg IG Farben process precisely, the the Basic material included for its topic. What he with this material and from this material you can't with negligence or inability excuse. How revealing is it already, if the Documents, the the defender the IG bosses presented, the one part of process material, making generous use of the birch field might! It deals itself a hundred times around conscious concealment, Twisting and denying. At cases of This is intended to be demonstrated with exemplary significance become. 9

1. The The IG Farben Group largely operated the Establishment of the Hitler clique indie power after he Hitler his had presented demands unambiguously, among which the state aid to stimulate the synthetic Production took an excellent place. Soon after, in the summer of 1933, as Gottfried Feder to Secretary of State in the Appointed Reich Ministry of Economics been was, he said Group ruthless be Mono pole on this area through. Already in September he demanded Group for the first time the appointment of a fuel commissioner and proposed a "four-year plan" self-sufficiency in terms of fuel before. Carl Bosch and Feder signed at the 14. December 1933 the as Feder-Bosch agreement well-known gasoline contract between empire and IG. The contract guaranteed dem Group to Fixed prices already now for the Tent from 1936 to the acceptance from yearly 300 000 until 350 000 tons of synthetic gasoline on ten years beyond. These state ones Profit guarantees and huge gifts from the state treasury for the principle and to state monopoly Rule raised through the "Law above the Over take from Guarantees for the expansion the raw materials economy" from the 13. December 1934. Significantly, this law applied one year retroactively from 1. December 1933.

Birkenfeld keeps quiet about the role of Group like that at all German monopolies at the Use of power the Fascists entirely. He denies any political and even economic policy significance the Negotiations by Bosch's emissaries Bütetisch and Gat tinueau with Hitler in 1932. The Gasoline contract is as "job creation" measures, not but "from in advance (as) component the "rearmament policy" (p. 30 f.). The memorandum from the September 1933 will be at this point embezzle and later, without that at Schweitzer!O quoted Demand for a fuel commissioner **he**

.imagine, trivializing interpreted (p. 62 f.). In this way, Birkenfeld comes to **his** most important Protective claim: The "Stop it a 'Alliance' (of the group - D E.) with Party and Wehrmacht in the context of war preparation" is "unjustified and also unhistorical" (p. 31).

2. The begin the open and comprehensive Preparation for war in 1935 **led** to significant tactical Disagreements within the ruling impermeable class. The IG Farben Group supported In in a very decisive way against Göring shaft, whose somewhat more cautious upgrade policy and war conception did not sufficiently take the interests of the **IG into account**. Goering was in April 1936 Raw material- and foreign exchange commission missar - with it "Fuel Commissioner" - utid in October 1936 "Commissioner for the **Four** Year Plan". Its authoritative The IG Farben Group provided "advisors" and economic experts. It's proven, that Hitler's infamous four-year plan memorandum from August 1936 essentially after the template of IG Farben teams under Carl Krauch was created, that since April as independent department in Göring's staff worked.

9 For the facts see Gossweiler, Kurt, The role of monopoly capital at the Bring about the leadership Röhrn affair, phil. Diss. Berlin 1963; Monopolies and the state in Germany 1917 - 1945, Berlin 1966, S. 33 ff.; Eichholtz, Lockpick, war economy, a. a. O., S. 36 ff.

10 Schweitzer, Arthur, Business power under the Nazi Regime, in: magazine for National nalolconomy, Vienna, No. 3-4/1960, S. 432.

In the Plan template of the Department Krauch were the dates for the "coverage of the Mob. - Requirement " of mineral oil expressly at one and a half to two years. of rubber with given for four years.

Birkenfelds Book contains no words about the role of IG Farben Group and especially Krauche at the emergence of the state monopoly four-year plan organization (p. 77 ff.), **for the Schweitzer** and Petzina, on the other hand, provide evidence. He knows that author to **mlndest Schweitzer's most important** article on this problem.¹¹ Secretive will that **the fascist Self-sufficiency aspirations** undoubted efforts for the war goods, **da8 especially that one Four-year plan was** a war plan, **at** whose Origin and elaboration **of the IG Farben Group** maSgeblchen had a share. Birch field provides it like this, as if the industry at the four-year plan seduced Victim Hitler's was, whose sole, secret Goal "dle economic mobilization to Expansion of the "German living space" . **be** (8th. 86). Ober the Connection between the extensive Plan designs and the fundamental elaboration of the Smoke group from the middle August on the one hand and the hit - on the other hand, there will be complete silence in the four-year plan document preserved, although Schweitzer about this clearly says. The 18 month program the fuel self-sufficiency that Hitler set up, is presented as the result of a "fantastic illusionary world", In the Hitler allegedly lived (p. 87 ff.).

3. In the Years 1938 reached the power, the the Representative of IG Farben Group, at your head Carl Krauch, in the state monopoly mechanism had an arms industry, a new peak. Train Krauch gained traction to dictatorial powers, the authorities, which were completely enforced by IG Farben specialists, gave him a key position in the German armaments and war economy. Since February 1938 more factual Director the newly founded Reich office for economic expansion, worked he with his rods new plans for the concerted economic Preparation on the coming one war out. At the same time he demanded unlimited give state monopoly power, around the to be able to implement planned projects. These demands caused Gö ring, smoke on 22. August 1938 to the "plenipotentiary" (soon: general representative - EN) for special questions of the chemical production" (GB Chemistry) to appoint n and him with dictatorial powers on all of them To prepare for war in important areas of chemistry.

Birch field according to was Krauch mere executor the Orders from Göring. Straight those facts remain unmentioned, which contributes to the group's initiative the Change of Plan basics, the New version of all plans and the Centralization of the state monopoly regulatory power at the Smoking group irrefutableHch prove. It falls not a word silver the - at Petzina (p. 118 f.) treated - ordered letter from Otto Ambros to Krauch vom June 27, 1938 with the Demand for comprehensive Powers for a defense command center; About the same time arising Draft Krauche for the later "military new production plan" with the date of 30. June 1938; about the content and timing of the "quick plan" for powder, Explosives and warfare agents (poison gases) in the Version dated 13. August 1938 with the possible date for a war (Autumn 1939!); about Göring's "order to Implementation of the new military production plans as well as the Quick Plans" from 22. August 1938, the Krauch at the days his Order for GB Chemie extraordinary powers and a superior position compared to the Army Weapons Office provided. Birch field passes over that outstanding position Smoke in the Reich office for Economic expansion with silence (p. 115 f.) and claims even, too as GB Chemistry I don't have any extensive powers of attorney" possessed and be ilbel-

11 Schweitzer, Arthur, Foreign Exchange Crisis of 1936, in: magazine for the entire political science, Jg. 1962, S. 243 ff.

Alles in his Possibilities narrowed down been (p. 120). He dismembered with diligence the context of the events from the summer of 1938. its knowledge for the Understanding of the historical process essential is. He ignores at all the overall political Background of the Years 1938/39. So disappears as well as that Unheard of increased aggressiveness of the German imperialism those years like the extraordinary activity of the IG Farben Group in the immediate Preparing for war and at the far-forward strategic strategies planning of war. A Key document in this one Connection is the Krauch's report before the General Council of four-year plan from the April 1939.¹² Birch field knows the seniors Report; but he suppressed complete the political one statement of document and there with its true historical content.

in summary say to yourself that in that Book all the central ones Problems of his topic either passed over or be apologetized and thus falsified. The state monopoly character the Economy-under the fascism denies Birch field and represents the structure of the self-sufficient fuel economy largely as Result of “**pressures**” and “coercive interventions” of the “authoritarian regime” towards the large-scale industry (p. 139).

It becomes secretive or denied, that

1. around the Preparation for war and the absurd for the sake of profit, antihuman use of a significant one Invention and of great technical and technological Progress in the synthetic production was made;
2. the production of synthetic fuel a important part, but again only part of it entire system from war preparations German imperialism was, and that the IG Farben Group plays a key role on how this works was involved in the entire system;
3. The IG Farben group, as part of German finance capital, sought exorbitant war goals, including the control of the oil sources of all of Europe up to the Urals, and in this context the production of fuel using carbon hydrogenation a definitely, limited took place in their war planning;
4. leading representatives of the IG Farben Group Purpose of Preparation for war huge state monopolistic powers concentrated in their hands and by this barbaric power, made fascist use.

Petzinas Topic is from the Matter here much more comprehensive, temporally against it primarily

on the period from 1936 until 1939/40 restricted. She overlaps itself through **whole ka** chapter with you Birkenfelds Work. Included is first to determine that Petzina strives to provide **factual** information. Fullness and completeness of his information about the armaments programs Four-year plan and the thoroughness his analyzes of the **planning** mechanisms stand out clearly from Birkenfelds Eclecticism away. The spread out Material is also for the Marxist one Researcher productive, the Source documents are generally reliable.

But Petzina's conception also prohibits the key materials in the **historical** _ Rating on the Reason to go. So is it okay him with the infamous memorandum Hitlers about the four-year plan. He mentions that influence of IG Farben planning from the years since 1933 on the “economic policy part” the Memorandum (p. 49 Note 96, p. 51); but he it speaks not from, that without that years of preparatory work IG Colors neither the memorandum nor the conception of the four-year plan would have been possible; that in the plans of the Smoking group from the summer of 1936, which Hitler directly as Before-

12 Published Yearbook for Economic history 1969, T 2, S. 83 ff.

location for his Memorandum served, the need for mobilization, That means the Need for the in case of war, the decisive one planning guideline, the War therefore terminus ad quem was, for the one in Krauche plans fixed dates specified became. In this The claim appears light Petzina's clearly as apologetic, after it "new was ... , How after:h definitely Hitler now the Economic policy as an instrument demoted by arms policy and how open he the economic self-sufficiency future Habitat recovery assign- te." (p. 51)

Bel der Treatment of the "Krauchplan" or "New military production plan" (p. 124 ff.) dedicated Petzina the fact none line that the IG Farben Group and KrBilch as GB Chemistry mm (Summer 1938) fully responsible and also empowers them Production from warfare agents, the is called before everything from poisonous gases, and that the IG heads sch011 lan ge previously radical advocates of gas war and the angriest advocate one "strengthened deployment the chemical Weapon" as the "typically German Weapon" were.¹³

The already mentioned Activity report Krauche before dem General Council of Four-year plan of April 1939, this key document of imperialist aggressiveness and planned preparation for war the monopolies, is Petzina of course well known; but that Reader will be essential Contents - as in Birch field - withheld.

Let's turn us the conceptual foundations of the book by Petzina, so it becomes obvious that he on the theoretical Working through his Work significant valued. He confronts some fundamental problems of his topic. Apparently looks after he to engage with the results of the Marxist historiography causes if he also the Citation of Marxist titles avoided. Of special Interest is closer to us in this one to be examined Connection a comparison the ur original dissertation version of his work¹⁴ and the Revised printed version presented three years later. The theoretical one Problem statement will be in the Print version a lot more concise treated as in the Dissertation. There is she many times in sections as out of common, to find unmediated self-understanding. In dem book is On the other hand, a lot of things have been smoothed out, some things are disguised in more cautious formulations, essential Passages and sections have been omitted - probably not without To do the Editor or the Those responsible for the Munich Institute for Contemporary history. For a closer examination Given Petzina's conceptual views, it is appropriate to to include the dissertation version. A comparison is even more worthwhile as those views according to the Overwork also show new theoretical accents.

At the Ask after the character of the fascist Economy and economic policy (at Petzina: "order problem") goes Petzina in the Dissertation by the since Eucken usual comparison of "central administration economy" or "Command Economy" of a "totalitarian" regime and "free" or "liberal market economy" in a "democratic" state from (Diss. p. 190, 234 ff.) His Investigation leads him to one - Of course not consistent - Rejection of this primitive scheme. Rather, he seeks direct support at Arthur Schweitzer" (Slides. S. 271) and to Max Weber (Slides. S. 368 Note 34), whose

13 Anatomy of war. New documents about the role of German monopoly capital the Preparation and execution of second World War, bg. u. deposited v. Dietrich Eichholtz and Wolfgang Schumann, Berlin 1969, p. 186 f., Doc. No. 73, "Suggestions for utilization of German chemistry for national defense" from the Reich Office for economic expansion, Dept. F, v. July 21, 1938 (Nuremberg Dole. NI-8917).

14 Petzina, Heinz Dietmar. The National Socialist Four-year plan from 1936. origin, course, effects, economics Diss. Mannheim 1965; from here quoted will provide in the text _with (Diss) marked.

interpretation and conceptual Instruments he - in the essential uncritical - takes over.¹⁵ There the Schweitzer's conception in the next Section the review is investigated, enough here one Sketching whose, What Petzina of that accepted has (Slide p. 269 ff.). Existed between 1933 and 1936 According to Petzina, except that fascist party as "most important "The ruler" was the Wehrmacht and the Large industry. The existing "equality of the interests" and that more or less balanced Relationship between these three "centres of power". between 1936 and 1936 1938 reason.! legend in favor of Political party. "By Dimensions, again Four-year plan gained importance, must stand the position of ruler 'Political party' strengthen." (This. S. 272) wholesale & industrial and Wehrmacht lost their "autonomy" and became to "Rulers" of "only secondary "meaning" is degraded.

With it is the role of large industry, That means of monopoly capital, for dle Tent has become a secondary one since 1936 problem ebecome. Under the headline "The responsibility for the Four-year plan" pushes Petzina this Responsibility, Still whole in the style faithful, in e ster line of "Party leadership around Hitler and Göring" and their "expansionist Politics". (Slides. S. 50). "The Jolle der Industry in this Ask", worded like that he but always careful, "just like you overall ratio to National Socialism is still controversial today." He keeps his way to one more differentiated evaluation openly: "You can't the industry speak, because the interests very divergent. However, there is no doubt that the IG Farben provided active support, since she is the Grand Prize Winner this um-orientation was". (Slides. S. 51) But claims Petzina expressly here, just like in his Contribution to the Kieler Historian's discussion tone ¹⁶, IG Colors (with their active U.N support of self-sufficiency plans" represents a "special case", an "atypical" case (Slide p. 25). The Nazi leader would have dem Group for this Support "personnel and factual chen Influence in the Four-year plan organization ... admitted" (Slides. S. 276).

All so far quoted passages from the Dissertation version miss in the Print version. In the book, Petzina talks about his theoretical Views are no longer so clear and freely. The formerly rampant terminology of bourgeois sociology ("Dominion", "Chance", "ruler bearer", "Maohblock", "Groups", "Consensus") is been largely eradicated; Weber's categories and yours interpretation by Swiss people are no longer expressly taken over.

But the "sociological-historical" interpretation and method, with the Schweitzer operated, controlled Petzinas Work now in more refined, more careful more handled Shape, for that but all the more clearly. All relevant elements of the Schweltzer's "theory" and apologia are available: the "relative autonomy of the large German economy the state party" until 1936, corresponding to the "initially strong position of Schacht, the ... a more decisive Representative of the free entrepreneurship was" (p. 22); the "Schacht's peace and economic conception" and the "Parts of the industrial sector" supporting it and banking world" (p. 38, 41); the Breaking the ".industry coalition" from 1936 at and the Emerging from "two rival wings" in the Business - about the Petzina unfortunately doesn't say anything further - as Result increasing competition of interests; those seeking to get out of there Reinforcement of influence of the fascist leadership "on the macroeconomic

15 Radkau thoroughly discusses Petzina's works reviewed here and. Schweitzer together and come to some remarkable conclusions .

Joachim, National Socialism and Economy, in: New political Literature, No. 2/1970, S. 263 - 269.

16 Petzina, Dieter, Hitler and the German Industry, in: Story in **Science** and Instruction, No. 8/1966, S. 482 ff.; please refer the critical comments on this at Lozek, Gerhard/Walter, George, From the "Third Reich" to the Federal Republic, in: Journal of History, No. 10/1968, p. 1259 ff.

shaft" and the "Subordination greater areas the Industry under the National Socialist party apparatus" (pp. 124, 196).

The Evaluation the role the Monopolies is modified been. The IG Farben Group becomes **clearer as** Industrialists Mainstay the Four-year plan polltlk worked out.¹⁷ The Concentration of power at the smoking group and with it at the Group since 1938 is treated in detail (p. 116 ff.). Petzina no longer singles out the IG as a "special case", but confesses to, that other "private business groups" also "Industry sectors", "Industry branches" and "size Kojueroe" - he calls for example Electrical industry and Aircraft construction - Your "chance" to rule in the four-year plan used would have (p. 122, 124). Nevertheless, it is less restrictive this statement expressly refers to a privileged person faction within the GrandDuatrl; no way mean the "Rise of the IG Colors" one "Strengthening your position the **entire German Industry**". Petzina reports - this time without Citation or note - a main thesis of Schweitzer, if he writes: "The strong position of individual corporations was increased with the Subordination of large areas of the Industry among the National-Socialist party apparatus paid for." (p. 123 f.)

Around so stranger takes the Attempt Petzinas from, become more Marxist to use terms, to better understand his theoretical structure foundation. Unfortunately, it has the acquaintance Petzlnas with Marxist Publications it there come let, da8 his book now In the theoretical ones Passages a row of highlights In shape from Borrows from the theory of state monopolistic capitalism. This begins at the "cooperation between the state and big business" (p.196), the "Alliance of regimes with parts of large industry" (p. 197), will continue to the "close intertwining of economic and political issues Area" (p. 11) and culminates in the "immediate merger of the most important industrial Area of the four-year plan with the largest German one Group" at which "in a sub-area **State apparatus** and private industry were hardly distinguishable anymore" (p. 123). Stronger generalizing, speaks Petzina even of the "Merger of the main branches of the Large industry with the apparatus of "state economic policy" (p. 17) and by the "personnel and factual fusion more industrial and governmental areas" (p. 197). He goes so far, the four-year plan as "particularly important Model example ... tighter "Cooperation between the state and the big business" is to be valued, "How them at the latest since then First World War always more typical became." (p. 197)

Such remarkable approaches theoretical Processing correct observations would be welcomed, If you were not used to patch up an unsuitable overall concept tone. Unfortunately, the context is punishing - the system theoretical opinions, the Model - Petzina's theory as a whole - these approaches lie. Petzina is missing them basics, on the nen the theory of state monopoly capitalism fu.&: the historical-materialistic opinion of the Company, especially the theory of classes and of Class- mustard battle, the theory of state and revolution and the Lenin's theory of imperialism. Considering this Irreparable weaknesses its conception, in particular considering the musions, which he about the civil ones Democracy, the bourgeois state and the "beral-capitalist economic forms", prevails in his book a theoretical confusion, the variously produces almost grotesque effects.

So gives Petzina sfoh to this, the concept of "state command economy". any price to preserve. At one the already listed places designated he the Four-year plan In one breath as "Not only a model example state command economy, but also close cooperation between the state and big business" (p. 197).

17 this happens even clearer and sharper in Petzina, Dieter, IG colors and national socialist self-sufficiency policy, in: tradition, No. 5/1968, S. 250 ff.

Examined elsewhere he the activity from Economic management staff East and WLRT management staff East, of Eastern companies and "trustee" companies at the brutal excuses the occupied Soviet areas in the years 1941/1942 and comes to the conclusion: "Hardly anywhere else showed herself so openly Four-year plan alliance of state leaders and industry, the a raid here to enlargement both of the war potential again in industrial profits began." (p. 143) In harsher discrepancy to this important one Doesn't recognize it, what he afterward about the reasons for this noted, the the Actual loot yields far below the high-tensioned plans and expectations German imperialists. "The reason for this was above all in the predominant short-term robbery and Loyalty thinking himself, the one systematic Development.8ung the Rob. ffoccurrences prevented." (p. 144) That could anyone NATO historians **wrote lifting**, the the "Lessons" from his "experiences" for the future laid down. Petzina, who is close to the democratic opposition in West Germany, takes itself in such **spiritual** neighborhood miserable.

It will be on Example of Schweitzer's work still to be proven **be, the** the at Petzl well dominant "sociological-historical" conception in the **sex-conscious**, despite big external differences and more methodical Advantages compared to the clumsy, "k<>& servative' apology and to neo-fascist Rehabilitation attempts, in their **consequences** inevitably to very similar results and conclusions flffbn must like this. Die.von Schweitzer and Petzina objectively corresponds only to another, geechldt teren, more elastic political-ideological tactics imperialist bourgeoisie of today's bitter Indians, global conflict between socialism and **capitalism** mus.

Schweitzer's book consists of eleven chapters and a multi-part appendix. The first chapter, the as last written was, is under the Heading "Who kmtrrolled who?" ¹¹ 18 and anticipates much of what what the reader as Result of the Investigation would have expected at the end. This is the textbook presentation of the Schweitzer's conceptual and methodological basic views, the he already years before in several ways ticles worked out had. ¹ 9 In this theoretical Procrustean bed 'Becomes the FULledes Ma terials forced in, that the included in the following chapter. The ill>rtell work is twofold Dedicated to the topic. In chapters 2 to 5 is the confrontation between the "Groll(apltal") (big buslnit s), the fascist party unlf the petty bourgeois Mass base of fascist **regimes** financial and basic social and political decisions at the center of the Investigation, The sixth Chapter ("Organized Capitalism and Party Dictatorship") essentially summarizes the **results** of this debate. Chapter 6 to 10 contain one Analysis of the RUst:ungs pollttk and the Armaments economy. In Chapter 11" schlle81.i examined Schweitzer the Au& effects the Armaments economy on the "rule structure" (power srt ucdore). of regimes and gives a outlook on the later ones Development. Temporal extends itself the Investigation, with Exception to chapter 11, until for the year 1936; included adds the "slim" point the chapters 2 until 5 on 1933/34, at the chapters 6 to 10 on the years from 1934 to 1936. Since is long the speech of that, the another volume Uber the anschblle.Bende tent will appear.

18 Translations always through the Author of this review. **BeBODders** distinctive and frequent terms of the book become at the first mention given in brackets in English.

19 Especially Schweitzer, Arthur, Business Power under the Nazis **Regime**, a. a. O. ;; fel"ner the same one, organized capitalism, in: Hamburg yearbook flir **Economic** and social policy, Jg. 1962, S. 32 ff.; recently the same, **From Pure** to Social Economics, in: Essays in Honor of Marco Fanno, Padua 1966, S. 596 ff.

The following is from the Conception of the book and its theoretical foundations be speech. But be mentioned, that the Work on one Material base is based, the In this Width neither Petzlina still Birch field still others Authors to Disposal was standing, and that she already out for this reason for the historian, the the one treated Period processed, of interest is. However, it works Author the Sources extremely rare have your say, and especially prohibits it his preconception, she choose before: r tell-free and to evaluate.

Before we us with the t coreletschen results or. requirements and the method of Al'bed occupy, want we the general political-ideological Pursue objective, the mtd her tracked and the (D:)everywhere clearly formulated becomes, particularly In the introduction, in the first Chapter and in the last Section of Text part as well as in the Attachment in one methodological essay above "Economic theory and economic Systems".

With the first sentence of his book we set ourselves Schweitzer immediately informed *that* he cares about the revelation of the "Inside Mechanism of a one-party dictatorship" is possible. The Problems of the first phase of fascist Domination be "surprised modern". The lessons "from the mistakes, " that were made in another economic system " are from Importance for them "Insight in the nature of today problems" (p. VII). These problems formulated he open-hearted: How are best to subject the working people to monopolies, How is the "industrial Peace" to preserve? Is further "the unshakable one Strive after the biggest profits always the best Politics, around the to preserve private capitalism"?- especially if the Capital export by large US corporations leads to gold losses and Au Senbandel deficits drives and - so Schweitzer, an enraged one advocate the escalation in Vietnam - "a drastic one change in our "Mftary policy" prevented? As is it's best to deal with the petty bourgeoisie and Small business in town and country (sma11 business) complete, the "economical counter-revolutionary" is and also poll table a "con terrevolutionary potential" represents (p. VII ff.)?

The story of the German Fascism and state monopoly capitalism after 1933 herein to consult, holds Schweitzer for around so urgent, as "private capitalism" is threatened by communism, with which only "the exclusively profit-oriented and politically short-sighted capitalist" could get involved (p. IX). Wlitender Schweitzer sees communist hatred and pathetic fear of communists again and again through the cells. While On the one hand, he doesn't take offense at it, the Application of state monopoly measures fascist regime to propagate lays he On the other hand, there is no difference whatsoever inhibitions arise, if he communism with the Fascism as "One-party regime" constantly equated. His entire confrontation with dem fascism is based not on one honest, deeply felt anti-fascist attitude, but primarily based on the need, imperialism with regard his confrontation with socialism more skillful and more effective Methods the Domination to recommend, however not without taking it into account "positive" state monopoly experiences from the fascist Tent. With dem To know on the Fascism, like him it conveys, he wants "not alone the lieuttge, but also future generations" for Russia, "dictatorial communism to resist and To beat him." (p. 1)

His advice for the Battle against the communism goes primarily there, one Catastrophe How the one, in the the fascism the German imperialism guided \tat, in the future under everyone circumstances out of dem ways to go. The Imperialist contradictions are not allowed until to a Degree aggravate, where the Monopolies the Control (D:)hers Lose your sphere of power. This be offered because of the "Challenge of communism _ **and** whose attempt(s), with everyone available means the capitalism to destroy and Every shape from democratic socialism to suppress." (p. 556) Schweitzer turns out itself here **as propagandist** of "demd!: rattle Socialism" and with it as advocate the not so very and so soon in fascist boots trampling, as much more

on quieter, "socialist" soles creeping counter-revolution, as Representative of ideological diversion after program of the US "global strategy".

What he really means and advises, explained he at the end of his book on Example West Germany. The Bonn Country is for him a safe one Allied partner of the USA and especially the strongest and most reliable European support NATO. Be Fate lies him urgent at the hearts. He sees the main danger for the alliance in it, that an increasing Fascization of West Germany Partner this as allies increasingly useless would do. A fascist one West Germany appears him as dangerous for the existence of the close partnership between West German and US imperialism, on the one hand because the reaction of the democratic public in their own countries as well as the Western imperialist ones Governments that Support one fascist regimes complicate would, on the other hand because this regime with its uncontrolled nationalism and chauvinism she more difficult would have to be influenced and directed.

Schweitzer criticized the previous politics the ruling districts of West Germany, especially this one Adenauer government, because they are the roots of the emerging Fascism ver - would have known. Not that he for a consistent one suppression of would be fascism; he turns in Opposite to an "unsuitable Treatment" the "ideological beliefs."- ste" of Nazi fascism and the young people "Hotspurs", the fascist Loswigen and anti-Semitic graffiti painted (p. 560, 562). Daftir but he wants to the actual sources of danger fought knowledge. He sees she in the "anti-capitalist feelings" of the farmers and small, weaker entrepreneur, which he as "counter-revolutionary" qualified and for a "Fascist potential in everyone crisis situation" holds (p. 559 f.). He sees she further in dem "unruly problem the German Reunion" (p. 557) as well as in the "Dependency West Germany from American military aid"; both can an extreme German Nationalism boost giving rise to a "powerful new fascist movement". (p. 559).

While Schweitzer doesn't seem to **know any remedy for this**, that "West Germany like an American one protectorate to look begins" (p. 559), recommends he Anyway different very insightful Methods to mortification the remaining root of Fascism.

The small entrepreneurs, the farmers and certain circles of the According to him, the "lower middle class" can be dealt with in two ways. First, these layers must be informed about the resurgence of large Corporations and the again "influence of restored cartels" can be deceived: "As long as a possibility." to pass see int, the mono polistic Influence of large corporations and cartels through appropriate official measures or any other appropriate measures, the of proposed to the opposition become can,

possible small amount to hold", wild those Layers fewer subseptible opposite the fascist ideology and that political advertising . the be fascists (p. 559 f.; Emphasis mine -D. E.). At the same time, however, their anti-capitalist resentments would have to be combated "strategically" and repressed through the infiltration of status symbols. Nazi fascism has these layers captured his concepts of "honor" and "class". Also the West German parties of will be today one politics the Develop status propaganda must" (want have to deve - lop a policy of stado s politics); it apply to show, that the politics of big Mcnropole easily " replaced by another can be , which is committed to the survival of **small businesses** is", that, on the other hand, the Fascism is just its situation could change (p . 560 f.).

The "current territorial division Germany into several (! - D E.) parts" Sc'tweitzer is particularly concerned vicinity. Will not solve this problem soon in favor of the West German imperialism solved, means he, so she could national "frustration" the West Germans easily in the arms of the practice fascism. But at all political blindness and confused

sion revealed he here one some insight in the completely changed Balance of power in "Europe and in the World. The limits from 1945. so indicates he at, not on similar ways to revise like those from 1919. The Versailles Contract liquidated Hitler with far-reaching Support the western Contractual partner. On the Compliance with the However, according to the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union exists, "if necessary. with Force" - and so I don't have a new one either Fascism an opportunity to force reunification. Hence J: "Just be." one: "It should be a change take place of the existing 'Chancellor Democracy' to one effective parliamentary Democracy, in the the opposition more effective component a healthy one political life be would." Government and **Opposition** should together thereafter "seek, the Grow of Neofascism to undermine or so small amount How possible to hold." And finally - with this one Sentence ends the Book - "is the Unification through an all-German election is not just (! - EN) an ancient, communist one **Slogan**, but appears as the only means. democracy into a united one to carry Germany over." (p. 564)

Schweitzers manuscript is Completed in 1963. There was obviously already discussion back then in political Circling the United States new, more effective variants in the ell'to päischen Politics, Schweitzer is concerned with its historical-theoretical justification tried in his work. It is very revealing, how close the political and ideological changes, especially in the imperialist "Ostpolitik", the one with the West Germans Government reshuffles the Years 1966 and 1969 are related to the coming, what he Years previously as alternative to "Chancellor's democracy" formulated.

But who are the main theses? its historical Investigation, which we will address below to turn want, closer in Illusion takes, the becomes from dem urgent and unavoidable Suspicion tracked, that the actual and very penetrating morality of book in the The se consists, the Fascism could work within a "coalition" with the monopolies and the **military** as more moderate, "partial" fascism plays a very useful role in this Probation and Financial support of "private capitalism", that is called the imperialist Lordship of the monopolies, play. The "Main Doctrine" the Swiss out of his Research pulls, consists for him right there, that from 1933 until 1936 in one such System of "partial fascism" (Pa r t i a l fascism) a "coalition between the Upper class (up pp er cl a s s) and the Nazis" for the benefit of everyone those involved would have existed.

This coalition "would have been for a considerable amount time period can continue to act if the German upper class Leaders with the necessary will and the organizational ability developed would have, their positions of power effectively against the Defend Nazis. The main lesson from the initial experiences of Nazi era is the, that Partial fascism and more organized capitalism not necessarily a transition phase to full fascism (full fascism) form, the in turn not necessarily the Must become a victim of a self-inflicted war. " (p. 555 f., 43)

With that we turn we already have problems and results of the historical investigation of Schweitzer. If such a detailed discussion of the political-ideological logical Objective this author he follows is, then also for this reason, because she it relieved, the confusing abundance of _information and disinformation, from half- and pseudo-scientific Terms critical to penetrate and correct to evaluate, with those of Reader is confronted on many hundreds of pages. Already at superficial employment with the Book notices the Reader, that Terms are constantly used, as essential categories of the historical known materialism are, so special "class", "class structure", "Imperialism", "Fascism". This explained, alongside noted, also a lot about the reaction more conservative Critic, the reservations emerge and various open rejections.urig show; it also explains, that little experienced left-wing bourgeois historians and interested parties mean, it in which author with a Marxists to do to have.

Since the end of previous Century force that View and the successes of Marxism mis his opponents increasingly. as Marxists disguised to appear. Also the Variant in perialist-bourgeois historiography, with the we us here disassemble, operate. without, of course, feeling like that Revisionism within the to pass off the workers' movement as Marxist, with numerous Categories and concepts Marxist Provenance, whose Contents but in no one Fall with the Contents the Marxist Terms agrees. The deeper meaning and Purpose of takeover certain parts of the Marxist terminology and of their installation in a detailed and fairly thoroughly developed beer retic system is clearly the combat of Marxism and the ideological Breaking into the Rubbing the revolutionary workers movement.

In which too reviewing work is mentioned theoretical System, exemplified by the historical material the fascist Time, in particularly sharp more articulate shape and with immense didactic Zeal vor: worn. New is it However, in no way; in its close adherence to Max Weber's positivist, Using a neo-Kantianist conception of life and a sociological-historical method, it recreates something that has been in the spotlight for decades dem second world war especially in the USA common, enriched by neo-poslti vistic and structuralist elements ideological commodity. The content and function of this theory will be discussed below in connection with basic problems the Schweitzer's topic can be analyzed, in particular his view and **treatment** of fascism, the Monopolies and their state monopolistic system of rule.

Schweitzer does sieve it a lot benefit, that he the "pure theory" of civil National economics and the finished formulas of a Eucken or Keynes replaced by "empirical study" and "comparative historical analysis". In the play economy, so he emphasizes, except blconomic and social as well as political and military "power" relationships one Role. The Expression power takes with countless Composites one dominant Po position in his Category system a. Po we r means for Schweitzer ability or "opportunity", particular Goals (goals) to enforce. ²⁰ political, economic and military "Might" exist at him next to each other, after Art the Weaver's sheaves "**Ideal types**" the term and also the Matter according to purely voneina.Dder divorced. The same applies to the so-called Power holder to, the elegantly historical Actors, the, depending on the type the "power" represented by them, as Polltaker or. political parties, as Blg Business or as military appear. Her "Goals" arise quite different and very diverse motives (mOtiv es), the for example at Blg Business not only ("economic) self-interest (s e l f - i n t h e e s t), but just as well i•off tradition, religious or ideological beliefs and from "feelings" could arise

(p. 580). Complete the fact is obscured that power and power relations on the basis of class struggle arise, to Enforcement of the serve the interests of classes and on the relations of production, that is, on the Property on the means of production, base.

Another central concept of The theory outlined here is - just like Weber - the one, who organization (organization). The organization" will be as one of the most powerful Sources and requirements the "Might" shown, as "Basic of Power": (po-

20 Although in the Weberian Terminology the Terms "Might" and "domination" doesn't be used as tidentical and only the the latter plays a central role in it (**seven weavers**, Max, Economy and Society. Floor plan of the understanding sociology, 4., new ed. ed. Tübingen 1956, 1. Part, Cape. I, § 16; Cape. m; 2. Part, Cape. IX), is in the German-language articles Schweitzers usually The term "power" is used. Since there is no reason Schweitzer to improve", I use it for the generation of power always only this term.

who base), equal with the Property to the means of production, with the military violence and that ideological mass influence; she becomes in a way - as essential for the position and function all "power bearer" - even higher placed as those. The "power bearer" exist in all Rule as effective organized "Power groups" (power groups) and "Power blocks" (power blocks). Schweitzer escapes soder theoretical helplessness the pure individualistic-personalistic view of history by the more elastic one Methods and constructions the bourgeois sociology. He don't be shy, in primitive manner Marxists to blame that them this concept not followed, and throws them before, that for she "all Power in the Capitalism "ownership of capital". The Nazi Party, whose power "theirs "organizational in nature" has been (p. 295), become from the Marxists therefore as "mere tool of the monopoly capital" considered (p. 663 note 82).

The Expression the organization occurs, so far from more historical Relevance, in reality always as Shape element of IO.assenkampf on economic, political and ideological Area on, as a form, in the in these areas Conflicts between classes take place. He finds out from Schweitzer an idealistic one distortion and independence and serves him to the fascist one party as a force independent of monopoly capital, fascism as an opposite capitalism and imperialism self-permanent, to pretend to be a regime opposing them from outside and thus, as will become apparent, se.ln to maintain an entire theoretical structure.

The textbook-like presentation structuralist-pluralist views and constructions in Schweitzer leaves their mechanistic and ahistorical in nature Character clear come forward. Anyway becomes the naked ones theoretical inadequacy through this concealed, that social reality as a complicated one network of "classes", groups and layers with countless, which often intertwine or intersect with one another, harmonizing or antagonistic "Interests" and "Aim" drawn becomes. Who that from the West German historiography systematically spread talk of "totalitarianism" and that "totalitarian Regime", of the "National Socialist Revolution" and the One-man dictatorship of the "demon" Hitler used to listening and reading is, for the sounds of the wording of the book first many things are new and remarkable. There will the fascism as political counter-revolution qualified; the contrast between the "oligarchic Clique" in the fascist Political party and of their radicalized Mass following Will be inspected; the "coalition" between Nazi party, Large industry and G&nerals becomes as crucial characteristic the social structure in the treat Time highlighted and forms a main one research object of Who kes; it will in this Connection the Theae set up, that the top Party clique

to this Time not the largest and sole Abundance of power held, rather the Participate the Large industry and shared with the military. The "totalitarianism" theory becomes logical expressly rejected (p. 506 f.). But it remains to be shown that Schweitzer, under consistent Continuation of his theory, finally completely back into the Vicinity the "totalitarianism" theory is moving forward.

Is working man itself now systematically the undergrowth the Terms and their tiring repetitions, that is laid out before the reader, so you ask firmly, that the Appearance of the Scientificity deceiving. Begin we with basic concepts How cape it a l i s m u s and imperialism. Schweitzer does not understand capitalism as a class society, but rather a pluralistic one Heap of interests and provides him, depending on the "power structure", depending on the constellation "Interests" and "goals", with the most diverse epithets (in - industrial, commercial, financial, political, social, private, personally, corporate, state-directed, organized, authoritarian, competitive, monopoly, imperial etc.). The working class and its organizations place at this conception only has an "economic Factor" among several, a "Powerblop" (until 1933) among others represents.

Schweitzer connects the term "Capitalism" but still with private property of the capitalist class in the means of production the "central institution of the modern "Industrial capitalism" (p. 236), so draws its concept of imperialism is characterized by complete hollowness. For him, imperialism is primarily politics and is by no means necessary with the economic basics of the society together. Also this term understudied he the for his theory typical atomization (economic, political, military as well as fascist imperialism). Left over remains the superficial, indeterminate Description one tendency the expansion from spheres of interest and from areas of power. According to Schweitzer, this tendency is primary such political "power holders", their ideologies or that from them dominated state, the Cravings after more power or to feel the prestige of a great power, only secondarily - from professional and status reasons - the military and only then parts of the capitalist class. Schweitzer defined economic imperialism actually as use more unfair Medium against foreigners Business partner or. Competitors. Even such Medium help yourself but only a part of capitalist class, the so-called political capitalists (political capitalists); and only these are it finally also, the itself, through special Privileges and high profits in Rift business as well as through the expectation still higher Profits corrupted, the imperialist goals of the Politicians and military men joined and in the imperialist capitalists transformed. Her counterpart, the mass of the industrial capitalists, live without this seduction, be naturally for "Silence and order" (law and order) and must to be almost forced "to give up any preference for peace" (p. 502).

This imperialism apologetic is completely serious. Schweitzer "proves" his theses based on the historical material in detail. From 1934 to 1936 was according to him, an arms boom, the "Revival boom" characteristic of economic development, from the beginning of Four-year plan until the outbreak of war against it a "war economy in peacetime." That's like it is still going on. But Schweitzer explains these two phases imperialist rearmament and war preparation for two different economic systems, those of very different "power structures" and "Power Aim" (power goals) certainly were. The rearmament boom have - at a courage all "power bearer" - the power goal had, the "Might Germany in comparison to other countries and economies" (p. 343) and his great power position to restore. According to Schweitzer, this was by no means an expansive, aggressive imperialist objectives (of war aims is not a single place in the book is mentioned); All you have is "military equality", "national independence from the global economy" and other - in this Unsuspicious in respect - "specific goals" (p. 50 f.) tracked.

On the other hand, it was dangerous fascism in imperialism, from Schweitzer exclusively as a component the ideology the fascist Political party Are defined, as one the "Nazi ideals"; he was it, the joined in 1936 dem Four-year plan enforced have and "for every man had become binding ." (p. 48 f.) Only through this be a war in the area of possible and the Business into a "war economy in peacetime" been transformed. But all of this could only have happened - this is a key point of the entire theoretical construction -, because the generals and the leading representatives of Big Business are full of "ideological blindness" and "political unsuitability" (p. 554) would have wrested power from the Nazi party's hands and become "second-order power holders" (minor power holder) degrade let. It becomes still to show be, that this Criticism is not an anti-monopolistic and anti-militaristic, but an inwardly directed one Criticism, one introspective criticism of Big business is, whose Domination for Schweitzer the represents the only acceptable social order.

At the theoretical Level, the is offered here, take it not surprising, that the Book all expectations in relation on an exact one definition of monopoly capital and one

analysis the Domination the huge Monopolies disappointed. It becomes that is no left in doubt, that under Big Business those Forces to understand are, the the dominate the "economic sphere", namely the large companies. Big business - as Expression it is not clearly defined anywhere - is according to Schweitzer but only one from several "Power groups" and "power holders" and must yourself in the Business the "Participate different, often competing share forces (small business; let down he s, particularly "Junkers", trade unions). Anyway become him concentrated property ownership and beSODders highly developed "organization" (organized advocacy on economic and political Area) attributed. The political activity grow with the Size of the Pursue and the expansion their economic Interests, but it is aimed at economic "goals", namely on the Freedom and security of the business, on the weather "legitimate" expansion of the large companies and of their profits as well SchleBllch (! finally) on the Backup the exploitation the Working class (p. 11 f.).

The actual content of the book is completely withheld from the reader concept of monopoly. Ignored remains that Monopoly solution of production and sales the main Industries in reading businesses, corporations, Syndicates and cartels and the Elimination of the monopoly of the **banking industry** the big banks as Basics of the capitalist Company in the examined Tent and as Basts for the transformation of the Capitalism the free competition in the imperialism now around seventy years. Niebts announced about the merger from Industry- and banking monopolies to financial capital, above the international felting the large monopolies and their fight for distribution and reallocation the riches of the World. This also expresses one thing downright provincial Limited means the point of view, the capitalism or Imperialism as a world system is largely ignored. Secretive becomes the deep polttsch transformation, the the Capitalism since his Transition to imperialism experience has: his general application to reaction and Force, se e unbridled aggressiveness and the legal Origin in the perialist war.

Without insight into the laws of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism it can also no scientific Explanation of Faschi smus give. It can neither his imperialist root still be beings as form of rule of the state monopoly capitalism recognized become, "the created became, around the crisis of Capitalism with terror in Inside and through the redivision of the to overcome the world from the outside . 1121

The actual essence of the Schweitzer completely misinterprets fascism. What he has to say about it, basically boils down to the infertile, unhistorical, and from him constantly in the sense of Anti-communism misused thesis of the One-party dictatorship without any visible class character. Him according to realized the fascist one Political party first polttsch and ideological Area (partial fascism), in one later Phase also on economic and mllltary Area (full fas c i s m) their exclusive claim to the "power" or strived accordingly political, ideological etc. "goals" a fi.

How all other "power groups", under the the Authors big capital and billionaires as well as the state bureaucracy and small businesses (small business) and the unions expect strived after his Depiction also the fascist Political party after Expansion of power and monopoly of power, came into conflict with the existing "power factors" or arranged themselves tent wavy with them. As soon as it her but succeeded, the competitors to be-

21 Ulbricht, Walter, The meaning and the vitality of the Teachings of Karl Marx for our Time, Berlin 1968, S. 49.

or to push away, reigned Schweitzer according to the "full fascism", an order, the not more compatible (compatible) be with the "private capitalism", that means with the rule of the Monopolies. Such an order is in the last three Before the war years built been. With this thesis falls Schweitzer again in the old "Totalitarianism" theory back. of the his own theory with it matter only through the more differentiated interpretation of the The period from 1933 to 1936 differs.

The crucial Point, namely the Class character the fascist Reign remains in the dark. For Schweitzers is the Fascism is by no means a political tendency or a political regime of monopoly capital, more precisely, the most reactionary, ag most aggressive, the most imperialistic and chauvinistic elements **of the financial capital** tals; he is in his Eyes much more a society en miniature" (p. 34) in the form of a predominantly petty bourgeois, tightly organized Mass movement that seeks to form a politically counter-revolutionary regime under the leadership of an "oligarchic clique". is, to also on economic Area against the Big capital one To enforce "counter-revolution". So Schweitzer has it monopolies, where he she wants. you he seem, despite occasional abuses of power and a certain vulnerability to Seduction through strengthen profit incentive, as the real ones guardian from Progress, democracy and peace.

As an important discovery of his own, Schweitzer claims that the fascist party, whose basis of power in the "monolithic power structure" of their "Organization" (p. 23) and in the Exclusivity of their ideology lay within this organization, have given up part of their ideology ("middle class socialism", "social harmony" between capitalists and wage workers). Rule of big capital in the economic area and that the Generality in the military area as given have to accept and be only through concessions this "**power groups**" in the situation been, their dictatorship to build and at least on a political level and ideological area that undisputed to usurp a "monopoly of power". The "full fascism" or "Totalitarianism" is therefore In the first years of the Nazi dictatorship not been enforced.

One such Construction decorates the Big bourgeoisie and the generals almost with that glory from resisting opposition, if Schweitzer also highlights that Her Willingness to compromise is great been be and the regime this "Partial fascism" only on the Base tighter "Cooperation" and "Coalition" from Nazi party, Big Business and military worked. By he but Big Business and military under dem Expression the upper class (upper class) summarized, he wins the starting position again the apologetic Comparison from fascism and "private capitalism" and can his size "Discovery" accordingly as "you al (or bilat he al) strucdoor e of power" describe.

The Marxist theory of state monopoly is when capitalism are the presented theoretical views and constructs of theirs The basis is diametrically opposed opposite. Schweitzer is miles away from the Understanding of the state monopoly capitalism as That systems from new Structures and forms of development of Imperialism, whose core the Union the Giant power the Monopolies with the giant power of State is and whose function in this consists, under the Conditions de& pressure the Development the modern productive forces and the deepening all Contradictions _ of capitalism the Profits of monopoly capital and his Domination at all receive, to to back up and to expand. About it can also not to hide the fact that the voD Schweitzer until for the Weariness strained sociological formula language, especially terms like "more organized Capitalism" (Or G at i.e.ged about pi t a l i s m) and "directed capitalism" (state -dire cted capitali sm), conform to the appearance after on the same relate to scientific problems. "Organized capitalism" solved after

Schweitzer, the - not defined in more detail - "Monopoly capitalism" Weimar Republic from. Big capital is in a system of coercive organizations, the **so-called** self-government the commercial Business, organized - not that around in the closest Intertwined with Nazi party and fascist state the working people exploit unhindered, suppress everyone's opposition, upgrade quickly and in a concentrated manner and prepare for war to be able to rather, according to Schweitzer, around the "Economy" dem access the fascist to withdraw part. To the "recognized leaders and speaker of Big business and his Organizations" was the 1934 Schacht became an "economic dictator". His politics rearmament and the government intervention in the economy (Regulation from markets, Control of prices and wages etc.). for the benefit of the Big Business turned down. The "organized power bloc" of big capital, the rely on this way and consolidated, have the fake party with Success Paroli offered and them to "Coexistence" just In that one shape of the bilateral power structure forced. "After both partners of the coalition government were **effectively** organized, got along (were compatible) Capitalism and one-party dictatorship are completely compatible ." (p. 296)

Such "value-free" formulations must always be used Im loved the current political Conclusions of the Author considered and assessed become, from those at the beginning the speech in detail was. Then becomes clear, that she one disguised apology one tamed, one part ial fa s c i s m , and up Definitely a massive lesson for that Monopoly capital represent should, always for one "effective Organization" of own power bloc to worry about not having the appropriate political constellation ("One-party dictatorship") out of to be ousted from the rulership.

Schweitzer's sympathies lie entirely with the monopolies and the "Upper class". He does want Qir democratic decor around the for the sake of "industrial peace". see; He praises nothing less the German monopolies (and generals) for this, that she the Nazi clique initially skilfully served, around the radical parts of the predominantly petty-bourgeois mass supporters fascist Political party punctual to knock down.

This "success" was loud Schweitzer although not from Duration, but approximately that half of the book text it is the confrontation between Big capital and "Middle class socialism" (middle class socialism) dedicated, the he as serious Danger for the Mister shaft of Big Business puts down and in many Relationship above- and misinterpreted. ²² As climax of the confrontation and basis for the "Coalition" of big business and the military with the "conservative" or "moderate" (also: "imperialist") Wing of the Nazi leadership plays the bloodbath of the 30th. June Played an important role at Schweitzer in 1934; but even though he due to the source material used notice must, that Wehrmacht and Monopolies had the greatest interest in this "cleaning" and even in his Preparation participated, irritated he the reader with the - basically apologetic - Fixed -lung, the Wehrmacht have it "refrain from this one moment the weakness in the Nazipal' part to exploit." (p. 246)

A few years later, over the course of the rearmament boom, then, according to Schweitzer, succeeded the Party of breaking into the ranks of the "united power bloc Upper class ". After Appointment of Göring as "Commissioner of the four-year plan" has not only changed in the economic Aims of the rulers, but also in type

22 See. the Marxist Analysis at Gossweiler, Kurt a. a. O. - "Middle class socialism" is described by Schweitzer emphatically as "counter-revolutionary" objective; This is how a subliminal association sounds, on the one hand, between "socialism" and "counter-revolution", on the other hand, between "capitalism" or. "Big Business" and "Revolution" respectively. "Progress".

the political and economic organization, in the Distribution of economic M&Ct and in the Principles the market function" completed (p. 2). The repression of Schacht by Göring and the Switching off the Wehrmacht top through Hitler, Schweitzer points out as disempowerment of the two "power bearers" big capital and generalship and as decay your united "Power blocs". According to him there was only after that another "main power holder" (major powerholder), namely the fascist one Political party. So be it "full fascism". been given free rein, and the "Fascist imperialism" has that Monopolies and generals - now just more minor power holder - on the sloping Railway of to prepare for a war adventure.

The danger, the the I initially overlooked or disregarded big capital, later **because of** a lack of unity and more inadequate leadership no longer have to fight can, was, after Schweitzer, the "conducted I{capitalism" (did e-youeeted approx pi talism). While in the "organized Capitalism", the "Economic order in the first period of National Socialist domination", the "state "economic dirigisme" (e c on O - mic s did ism) a Character trait of secondary importance (minor fea do re) was and that Big capital still has "control over all significant state economic authorities exercised and the general economic policy government determined" (p. 261), have state steering measures, interventions and controls, "from those most _ disadvantageous for the Interests more private groups were" (p. 412), the Basic feature of the economic system the following Period, of s did e-youeeted about pi talism, ge

formed.

Guilty of violating this balance of constructed by himself social structure of the Partial f as cism and for the "Capture first the economic and then the military Guidance of the country by the **Nazis**" (p. 552). for Schweitzer of course the fascist Political party. But remarkably he leads in his otherwise with Mitigation "value-free" and positivistic Text here strong complaint about the political "blindness" of the Fil'brer des Big business and about the lack of it organizational cohesion the "Upper class". He accuses the IG Farben group "Collaboration" with the Nazis, the Ruhr companies, on the other hand lack of unity in the Ask, whether export offensive or striving for self-sufficiency; he blame the generals more deficient Support Schacht against the "power-hungry" Goering and accuses the "astute" Schacht, whom he otherwise admires, of "fatal misjudgments" and unforgivable "tactical blunders"; Above all, Schacht "did not act **enough as** the leader of the big business power bloc" (p. 540). As immediate designated jointly responsible Schweitzer the "Collaborators" in the ranks of the Industry, ahead of the IG Colors, as well as under the military - but also the "Collaborators" be henceforth only **With** runner been, the it "failed to the preserve Views the Nazis to investigate" (p. 553).

These theses and interpretations from need facts not to be treated and refuted in detail here. It are now a bit more Marxist Investigations Above the economic history of the Pre-war and war years published. In the form of already discussed book from Petzina lies also one material-rich bourgeois work before. It can therefore be a very clear one Verdict about the Schweitzer's theory of the "two ten period" of to be felled by a fascist dictatorship. It acts itself - as well How at his theory above the "first Period" -around a rough one misjudgment, the in the contradicts the facts. She can have no other meaning, as monopolies and generality, so they actually ruling Class, as follower, partially even as oppositional, at most but as downright pitiful ones betrayed cheater to be added by the overplayed by the fascist party and against their will into the adventurous fascist war politics dragged in had been. 23

23 This conception, the - in numerous newer, particularly West German Publications

In Reality can at all "there is no question of it, that the Financial capital since 1936 in total power and Influence in the state monopoly system of rule of the fascht - Stistical Germany would have lost".²⁴ In the years 1936 to 1938 only took place a change of leadership between state monopoly groups instead of, With which Help the German imperialists to the realization of the Blitzkrieg concept and a correspondingly accelerated economic, military and political preparation of the war and the internal structure of the state monopolistic system stronger this one Adjust objectives. "When war broke out, everyone was carrying powers and leading groups of the German large-scale industry and high finance firmly in the state monopolistic power mechanism the Armaments and War economy anchored. Everywhere at the gear levers of the economic, political and military Representatives of the monopolies sat in the power apparatus, the Reichsgruppe Industrie and the Business groups. In the In the phase of immediate preparation for war, the objective tendency was to increase Concentration and Centralization of state-monopolistic regulatory power **was** strongly noticeable and was particularly evident in the form of the four-year plan enforced. German imperialism showed itself to be more eager to expand and more aggressive than that ever."²⁵

How smoothly and quickly the blatant apology and distortion of history, on which Schweitzer's **entire** theoretical structure is supported, finally turns into current anti-**communist** advice for the imperialists UNITED STATES, West Germany and others? countries, has already been shown at the beginning. The "Collaboration" of IG Farben Group, the Schweitzer as highly blameworthy, this agitating historical mentor of "social capitalism" compares with the peaceful ones Activities of such capitalist businessmen today, the, from him as "exclusively professional and politically short-sighted" insulted, with socialist countries trade to drive (p. IX f.); the "communist Ruler" be today as then Fascists eager to come with the methods of "Trojan Horse" the positions and organizations of the to undermine "private capitalism". (p. 555).

The The last work discussed is what is its theoretical basis concerns, a school example for the thesis we have already presented, that the so-called sociological-historical school historiography, even if they the "Totalitarianism" theory renounces, cannot deny its close spiritual relationship with it and ultimately like that you reach. This inner relationship is based on the common basis of the idealistic view of history. Both theoretical Variants of bourgeois Fascism research denies them imperialist class function of Fascism and its roots in the imperialist system.

The "Totalitarianism" Theory Explained the fascist one dictatorship - at most of time pure subjectively idealistic, "more individualizing" Consideration • as Creation of political or ideological "leaders" with "demonic" or other supernatural characteristics and

after and expanded into a coherent structure - from a limited one Shared responsibility of the "upper class" for the advance of the Fascism and that Come about the fascist dictatorship, the end of their general "cooperation" with the fascist party "in good time". the year 1936 and finally at their "resistance" against Hitler and his climax at the 20. July 1944 ends, provides undoubtedly represents a "new quality of historical manipulation". (Lozek, Gerhard/Walter, George, a. a. O., S. 1260).

²⁴ Elcbholtz, Lockpick, war economy, a. a. O., S. 53, please refer also S. 48 ff.

²⁵ anatomy of war, a. a. Oh, S. 19.

gives **these** "leader" than that for Terror, War and all remaining fascist Crime alone those responsible. Scientific remains for she the phenomenon inexplicable; de facto In this way, the scientific bankruptcy of the theory stated.

The sociological-historical theory replaced or added the subjective-idealistic through the objective-idealistic approach - depending on, whether the basic sociological categories, for example the "ideal types", predominantly as mental abstractions definitely more real or as imagined reality Apparitions and processes or predominantly as pure "thought images", as fictions, be understood. The agnostic basic feature of this Max Weber, Arthur Spiethoff and other systematized ones theory, in the itself in of their today's form neo-Kantianist with mix neo-positivist elements, is at least unmistakable. she works certain 10th aces, groups and factors -How upper class, Working class, middle class, Business, Political party, Wehrmacht, ministerial bureaucracy - out, which further differentiates and broken down (large industry, SS), and lets she all as more or less "autonomous groups" (Serious Nolte) at the involved in the historical process be. Such Groups are now together respective "interests" and "Aim", the pursue them, How in a puzzle game "on the diverse ste catfish combinable and the historical Overall process (is) in such a way largely manipulable. n26 The fascist Dictatorship appears after this theory, How we have seen as Dictatorship of a "ruler" namely that one fascist party, who have their sole claim to power compared to the other "power holders" . "power groups" enforced. Unanswered stays too the Ask, which social forces carried the dictatorship, whose interests it actually represented and whose goals it represented pursued.

Although this theory far more scientific looks, resembles her Final result at the assessment of the Fascist time to the point of the one who "conservative" advocates of the "Totalitarianism" theory. It also brings the internal relationship between both variants of bourgeois concept of fascism, **that she** are not always clearly distinguishable and can sometimes be found by the same author. On the a Page will be the 10th aces, groups and Power factors "continuously dissected and differentiated until nothing more Subjectivism and personalistic arbitrariness as Principles of Explanation of historical processes left over"; on the other hand leaves man "continued a Power factor dai others, ei6e • autonomous Grouping' the other push away or disempower, until - like that from Nolte until Schweitzer - the 'Political party' the Field keeps and with it the thesis from the to t itarians Party dictatorship reestablished is. n27 It is easy to recognize, that such a move towards "overcome" positions directly from class, political motivation dai is dictated and the defense and glorification the existing imperialist order, the rule of the monopolies and of state monopoly capitalism, the nai should.

A clear admission of this method in the most condensed form is contained in Nolte's remarks above "Behemoth", the already in the years of second world war explore

- 26 Eichholtz, Lockpick, war economy, a. a. 0., S. 386. - To Max- Weber reception and to "typologizing method" see the fundamental discussion Lozek, Gerhard/Syrbe, Horst, Historiography versus history. Above the anti-national leading historical conception West German Historian, Berlin 1964, p. 80 ff.; recently unconquered Past, Manual to confrontation with the West German bourgeoisie historiography, bg. v. Gerhard Lozek, Helmut Meier u. a., Berlin 1970, see 73 ff.
- 27 Eichholtz, Lockpick, war economy, a. a. 0.

another book by Franz Neumann. Nolte declares this work to be "the most knowledgeable and comprehensive analysis of the National Socialism ...", the until today that Light spotted has:²⁸

He praises the theory of the concept in particular "largely autonomous groups", which are already in the Outline of the book becomes clear: party, Army, bureaucracy and Industry. Neumann already has the opportunity admitted, that the industry expropriates become and finally The party and the army remained: "But if he the development of the The Waffen -SS can be overlooked would have been able to he would the possibility have hardly denied that after a victorious Get them party as the only one Power factor would have remained and also that Economy unrestricted controlled would have."²⁹

The theoretical bonds of the civil historian at the bourgeois sociology also in the West German historiography increasingly in use. "It testifies to the **depth** and the scope of the Crisis of bourgeois historical ideology, if oneself **forced** today sees, formerly irrefutable to tackle historical-theoretical taboos ..."³⁰ We must not overlook that the "sociological-historical" variant of Gender apologetics itself as significant more elastic and at the "Coping" of histori- see materials better proves to be manageable than the old ones, "conservative" forms. You "discover" many things with of their Help at all first, that in the latest story

also in the area of economic and social development a lot of historically relevant things happened. The thesis, for example, that the "economy" and in particular the big industry not one of many "synchronized" instruments was, with whom Hitler proceeded as he saw fit, but one who is at least temporarily self-employed "power bloc" and "power holder", allow it, one Fill.le from Facts to knowledge gain weight, the for the apologists of the "conservative" Schools weren't even allowed to exist but in the meantime already in view of the growing Number of Marxist Publications can no longer be easily ignored. Such findings are processed however in the Rule like this, that theirs existence as "value-free", That means as class-different rent, appears and any revolutionary Utility application is excluded.

Want we this Art from more historical theory make a forecast, so have to we with it calculate that her Meaning and distribution given the current one political and ideological situation of imperialism future grow become.

The bourgeois-imperialist historiography performs with this theory a adequate Contribution to Theory of "industrial society", with their convergence-theoretical conclusions "a kind of conceptual Basic model for the currently dominant bourgeois representations of history". from the advent of Capitalism to the point Present³¹ forms and their philosophical and sociological foundations - New positivism and structuralism - with those of mentioned historical theory identical are. Sle fulfilled for the state monopoly system of rule Monopolies an important double function by both for Modernization of the system and to ideological security of monopoly power as also for theoretical infiltration and ideological Infiltration in the service of imperialist "Ostpolitik" and the Neocolonialism seems suitable. With melodious scientific vocabulary and with the pseudo-democratic Draple

28 Nolte, Serious. Fourty years of theories on the Fascism, in: Theories above the Faschlamus, ed. v. Serious Nolte, Iföln/(West) Berlin 1967, S. 63.

29 Ibid, S. 64.

30 Unconquered Past, a. a. O., S. 77.

31 Lozek, Gerhard/Schmidt, Walter. The "integration" concept - Basis of civil falsification of the history of labor movement, in: unity, No. 10/1968, S. 1275; please refer also Unconquered Past, a. a. O., S. 25 (24 ff.).

ation of its thoroughly anti-revolutionary content corresponds she also meets the “image” needs of social democratism Dimensions. It is so indicated, the "sociological-historical" Direction in the civil historiography as one means of imperialist reaction to theoretical softening and ideological and methodological subversion received attention to dedicate.

